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Sacrificial tusked boars.

782 To achieve the results set out above, however, one more thing is necessary; for every one of these acts depends for its efficacy on, and derives its sanction from, what is possibly the most important item in the whole ritual, namely the sacrifice of tusked boars.

782 These boars are the most treasured possessions the natives have, and their ritual value lies exclusively in the artificial elongation of their tusks. 231 This is brought about by knocking out the upper canines, so that each tusk, having nothing to bite on, curls upwards and back, re-enters the jaw, and, growing forward again inside the curve described by the tusk on its first outward passage, once more issues from the jaw and continues to grow till its tip is for the second time seen gleaming outside the animal's lip. It is then said to have described a complete circle, and is at this stage fit for the highest form of sacrifice. Every stage of growth up to this point has its special name as listed in Chapter X, and in the long cycle of rites connected not only with the Maki but with all of the numerous lesser ritual performances such as the mortuary rites, the consecration of a new Lodge or canoe, and on innumerable other ceremonial occasions, each act is accompanied by the sacrifice of a boar whose tusks have reached the appropriate stage. Under favourable circumstances and with great labour the tusks may be induced to describe two or even three complete circles. Such boars become famous, large fees are charged [554] to any wishing to view them, and their sacrifice confers specially high rank on the fortunate and painstaking owner.

782 By means of such sacrifice the natives, in a witty but true phrase uttered by Godefroy, "spend their time in consecrating," and the most important objects they consecrate are themselves. For the main purpose of the enormous labour devoted to rearing these animals is the sacrifice of the Maki, when, after innumerable lesser sacrifices accompanying every step in the fifteen-year-long ritual, the chief tuskers are sacrificed on the dolmen and stone-platform which on Vao are the chief monuments erected, and 200 or more valuable animals are sacrificed on a single day, attached to long lines of small upright stones, some of which are the monoliths already mentioned. The efficacy of this sacrifice results from the fact that the sacrificial animals have themselves previously been consecrated through sacrifice of yet other boars, and have by this means become identified with the Guardian Ghost, and in the highest grades have been invested with a title similar to its own. At the moment of sacrifice the ghost of the boar passes into the sacrificer, who by this means himself becomes identified with this Being, and in this way builds up a power within him that he hopes will ensure him from being devoured when he dies. This sacrifice of tusked boars is said by the natives to replace the former sacrifice of human beings. In spite of the fact that human

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sacrifice was still practised in the Small Islands on certain ritual occasions till put a stop to by the white man, and is still practised on the Malekulan mainland, this does not form part of the ritual of the Maki itself, which, by the substitution of tusked boars, is held by the natives to constitute the main force in their culture making for peace.

Details of the procedure accompanying the sacrifice of these animals will be given in later chapters. This brief summary of their ritual importance is given here only to explain the immense value attached to them and the amount of time and care spent in their rearing. Not only are they reared at home, however; for trade in pigs is also the chief motive for the voyages undertaken by the Small Islanders in their sea-going canoes to the distant islands of Oba and Raga to the east, to Malo in the north as well as southward to Ambrim and the east coast of Malekula.

Tusked boars are also used, while alive, as currency. For, despite the elaborate ritual life that goes on in these islands, the Malekulan, not excluding the Small Islander, is nothing if not commercially minded, driving hard bargains, exacting the highest possible price for his daughters from their suitors, lending pigs out on loan, receiving high fees for the performance of magical rites, cures and other services; and, above all, in one of the most interesting ways of amassing wealth, namely the institution of copyright by which new songs and dances and even new forms of ritual are passed on from one individual or community to another on payment of high prices in pigs regulated according to the elongation of their tusks, without which payment not even the smallest element of ritual or artistic culture may be acquired by those not having previously possessed it.

New forms of the rite introduced from Lawor and Bot-walim.

This custom in turn enormously enhances the commercial importance of prestige, and itself largely results from the extraordinary mixture of cultures existing in these islands. For it is a fact well known to the inhabitants of every Malekulan village that hardly a single element of megalithic culture is indigenous. Every village has its own stories of where such and such an element of culture came from, and in the Small Islands it is known for a considerable number of generations back precisely what individual "bought" it and from where.

I have already mentioned the acquiring of the highest ranks in the megalithic hierarchy in South-West Bay from the village of Lambumbu some twenty miles up the coast. For the Small Islands the centre of distribution of innumerable new forms of ritual during the past eight generations has been the two villages of Lawor and Bot-walim which formerly flourished on the Malekulan mainland opposite Wala, but are now extinct owing to the bloody fighting that resulted from the first

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together, share approximately the same dialect) and differ considerably one from the other as regards social organisation and ritual observances. These differences all occur nevertheless within certain cultural limits, such as the broad lines of megalithic culture which they all share in common and the matrilineal moieties which persist among them despite the overt patrilocal organisation, as well as many linguistic similarities over and above their common Austronesian basis, these similarities occurring most strikingly in the common use of the same, or approximately the same, terms in connexion with megalithic rites, of which the most obvious is their common use of the word Maki.

Of all these languages, that which differs from the others most is that of Vao, not only in vocabulary but also in pronunciation, since, by a peculiar forward movement of the tongue between the lips, certain consonants take on a very un-Malekulan form, making it difficult at first hearing to distinguish between, for example, *t* and *d*, or *m* and *n*. This is most striking to the European in its effect on the consonant which elsewhere in Malekula is pronounced *w* or *v*, and which in Vao sounds like a voiced *th* (*dh*) very similar to the *th* in the English word *the*. Other sound-changes are that Malekulan *g* is softened to *gh* and Malekulan *s* becomes *h*. A notable example is the pronunciation of the word used for the Guardian Ghost, which in Atchin (which retains the Malekulan consonants) is *Le-saw-saw* and in Vao is *Le-hev-hev*, pronounced in a manner that at first hearing I transcribed as *Le-heth-heth*. This sound *th* is characteristic also of certain tribes on Santo. Since all words in which it occurs can, however, be traced to their parallels on Atchin and elsewhere I do not propose to confuse the philological issue by rendering this aberration in print, and wherever this sound occurs in Vao I shall render it by the more usual Malekulan *v*.

From every one of these coral islets may be seen each morning, when the weather is not too stormy, a fleet of small canoes sailing or paddling to the mainland, where the natives of each island have their gardens. For the islets themselves are too small and their soil too shallow to support their population in garden produce, and are, moreover, largely given over to the rearing of pigs, which in their younger stages (before the tusks have appeared and are therefore liable to be damaged if their owners were allowed to run wild) are permitted to forage where they will. It is this habit that has given rise to the French saying that each island is a *parc au porcs*. This is not true if it be understood as meaning that the islands are a mass of wandering pigs; but is true to the extent that no young succulent plant is secure from the occasional ravages of these animals without very heavy fencing to protect it. For this reason the natives have their main gardens on the adjacent mainland, large tracts of which are regarded as the property of the island immediately facing it, and only certain ceremonial gardens surrounded by carefully

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pudding placed on those that remain. On this are then replaced the stones that have been removed, and the whole covered in with earth. Here the pudding remains till it is judged to have been cooked. For a large ceremonial pudding on a ritual occasion it may be left in all night or even, for the very largest, as long as twenty-four hours. Whatever time the cooking takes, it is judged always to a nicety, and the resulting food is tender and succulent. We are here concerned, however, only with ordinary occasions, when the pudding is taken out soon after it is put in. Fresh leaves are brought on which to lay it, and the meal is ready. On rainy days it is consumed inside the Lodge. But on fine days—and most days are fine—it is eaten outside, the men squatting on their haunches in usual Small Island style, or perhaps sitting on a handy log. The pudding is sliced with wooden knives and eaten either with the bare hand or taken up with a leaf. When finished, what is left over is kept to be eaten cold next morning, and the cooking-leaves fed to the pigs.

Fellowship with the dead.

All this takes place either within or immediately outside the Lodge, within the Lodge enclosure a few feet from where, lined with stones, lie the graves of the ancestral dead. Much has been written of the fear of the dead in primitive religion, and it is curious that it is this aspect of ancestor cult that has been most emphasised by European writers. As Rivers points out, there appear to exist in Melanesia two diametrically opposed attitudes towards the dead, that of the early inhabitants, which was one of great fear, and that of later immigrants, who believed in their ever-present beneficent influence and so tried in all manner of ways to preserve contact with them.[1] In the Small Islands it is true that in some respects the ancestors are very much to be feared, and that their anger is held to be one of the main causes of disease or even death. But this is only when they have been offended by the neglect of ancestral respect, either on the part of the whole community as a result of the change in kinship regulations whereby the introduction of overt patrilineal descent has deprived the matrilineal ancestors of much of their former prestige, or on the part of individuals who have neglected their private offerings at the ancestral graves, or by the too bold introduction of innovations in mortuary ritual or in some other way have offended particular ghosts. It has already been noted how expiation of the communal sin brought about by the change in kinship regulations is one of the most important factors in the huge sacrifices performed during the ritual of the Maki, but we shall see later that it is through these very sacrifices that the living gain fellowship with the dead by ensuring their own future existence in the land where the dead continue to live. Private offences are similarly expiated by sacrifice or the discontinuance of the practices to

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 279.

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this. He quotes a native saying, "After my death I must at all costs rejoin the souls of my ancestors. I can attain this only if Le-hev-hev lets me through, and It will let me through if I present my 'death pig.'" [1]

Therefore, "Every native, however poor, possesses a pig destined to be sacrificed and eaten on the day of his death. Children acquire theirs on the fortieth day after birth, at the time when their hair is cut. If they should happen to die before this, their relatives would sacrifice a small pig for them, just as for a grown man. The small pig given to a little child is destined to grow up with it. . . . I have several times seen certain very young pigs wandering around their houses, with the appearance of being completely domesticated. When I asked whom they belonged to, I would be told, for instance, that a given animal belonged to, say, L——. But this L—— was a baby only three months old. After several enquiries of this kind, I learned that every man on Vao, whether he be a new-born babe or an old man, has such a 'personal' pig. If the animal dies before its owner, it is replaced by another. It is his own inalienable property, and destined to be sacrificed at the death of its owner.

"It sometimes happens that a native changes his abode; sometimes his clan; much more rarely his tribe. He hesitates for a long time; but the day when, at last, he moves his 'death pig,' one may be sure that on that day he has definitely moved." [2]

Dependence on kinsfolk for sacrifice. No moral considerations.

"Everyone knows that after death he will have to do only [3] with Le-hev-hev; that is why this pig never leaves him: present or absent from his own country, his relatives will sacrifice it 'for his death.'"

Godefroy speaks of the sacrifice of this pig as "the necessary passport" if a dead man would set his feet on the road to the volcano. There is no moral test, nor is there, naturally, any question of what a man may or may not have done during his life. There is "only one great misfortune to fear: that of being devoured by Le-hev-hev. . . . To suffer this awful fate is not to be punished for crimes; it is simply to be the victim of a fatal negligence [i.e. in the unheard of case of a man's kinsfolk omitting to perform the sacrifice], the victim of a ferocious beast which seeks to devour us. But . . . from the moment that a man is in possession of a 'death pig' he seems without fear; in fact, each man has his pig ready to be sacrificed, in case of misfortune, on his tomb." "One thing is enough

[1] *nuku mbo na matean na nuk*, literally, "my pig for my death."

[2] "In the same way, when a native decides to leave his village to take up his abode with the Père at the Mission, one is never certain about his sincerity till the day when this man arrives at the enclosure preceded by his 'death pig.'"

[3] Godefroy is here emphasising the fact that Le-hev-hev has complete control over the dead, with whom Ta-ghar has nothing whatever to do. (Compare, however, his intercession with Le-hev-hev in the cave, which Godefroy does not record.)

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to assure the peace of the dead man in the other life; that his pig should be sacrificed at his death."

Sacrifice for presentation to Le-hev-hev, as company for the dead man and for his food. Coconut trees cut down for his drink.

The "death pig" is not, however, the only one to be sacrificed during the early days of the mortuary rites. According to Melteg-lil-nale, the ghostly journey to Ambrim lasts ten days, "during which we sacrifice in the dancing-ground all the dead man's pigs, so that he shall not be devoured by Le-hev-hev, and so that he shall have company on the way."

"Thus, those which we kill on the day of his death are sacrificed so that Le-hev-hev may let him pass through and follow the 'path of fire.'"

On the other hand, "those which we kill during the following days are to supply the ghost of the dead man with food. For his drink we cut down ten coconut trees growing on his ground. We eat the flesh of the pigs which we have sacrificed; but we do not touch the coconuts; these we leave to serve as drink for the dead man."

Pigs for Le-hev-hev and all ghosts to eat, so that they shall not trouble the living. Vengeful activities of neglected ghosts.

We have seen how Melteg-lil-nale said, at the beginning of this account, "It is to save ourselves from Le-hev-hev that we sacrifice our pigs, that we dance, and that we perform all our rites." He also says, however, "We sacrifice them so that the ghosts shall not molest us; they make ceaseless demands for pigs to eat."

Note here the identification of all ghosts of those of high rank with Le-hev-hev referred to on p. 220.

This brave account of the number of pigs sacrificed, though true in respect of the enormous numbers of pigs sacrificed during the Maki rites, is not quite so true of those sacrificed on other occasions, when commercial greed vies jealously with ancestral duty. In this case "the ghosts often come back to torment us, their relatives on Vao, but do not molest strangers. They come to reproach our avarice in respect of sacrifices which, though bound to perform them, we do so but meanly. For example, when one of our kinsmen dies, it is our duty to sacrifice and eat all his pigs. But instead of sacrificing them all, we content ourselves with sacrificing perhaps only a third or quarter of them, dividing the rest among ourselves. Then the ghosts come in fury: some suddenly appear to us all red,[1] move before us for a moment and suddenly go, leaving us full of terror. Others often hide in the tops of trees, close to their graves, and,

[1] According to my notes, it is only the ghosts of those slain in battle, and who have thus no resting-place, that appear thus as will-o'-the-wisps. These ghosts are called *ta-mat oamp*, "fiery ghosts." See p. 631 and footnote p. 233.

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CHAPTER X

PIGS

•231 SINCE it is impossible to describe any aspect of Small Island culture without reference to pigs, I propose now to devote a chapter to these animals.

It is frequently assumed by white men in the Pacific that the pig was introduced by Captain Cook. This is, of course, not the case. Pigs were observed in neighbouring islands in large quantities by Quiros in 1606, and the cult of the pig is in any case too deeply rooted in native culture for such recent introduction to have been possible. The Malekulan pig belongs to the breed known as *Sus papuensis*, found all over Melanesia, as well as in New Guinea.[1] Nowhere, however, is its culture developed to such a high degree as in the Northern New Hebrides, in which area two characteristics mark it out from all other branches of the species. Both these characteristics are due to the hand of man.

Intersex pigs.

[171] The first is the rearing of intersex pigs. This practice is far from universal, even in this area, being confined to the most northerly islands of the group, namely, Maewo, Oba, Raga, Santo and Malo. It does not take place in Malekula, though the phenomenon is well known to Malekulans, and figures in Small Island mythology. It therefore does not immediately concern us here.[2]

Artificial elongation of tusks.

What does concern us is the more widespread practice of artificially inducing the growth of the tusks. This practice lies at the base of the natives' whole overt religious life, gives rise to the chief form of currency, and so largely regulates all their economic activities, and, as I have said, permeates every aspect of life.

The means by which the tusks are induced to grow is a very simple one, and consists in knocking out the upper canines, so that the tusks, having

[1] Godefroy (1, 1934, p. 50) says that they are now crossed with European pigs of various breeds. This is a very new development, which had not started at the time of my visit. It apparently does not hinder the growth of artificially elongated tusks described below.

[2] Intersex (hermaphrodite) pigs are mentioned by Codrington, 3, pp. 57 and 80, and by Rivers, 1, vol. I, pp. 38, 80, 98 and 107, and have been studied also from the biological point of view by Dr. John Baker (1, 2, 3 and 4 (Chapter V)).

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PLATE IX, 1 and 2

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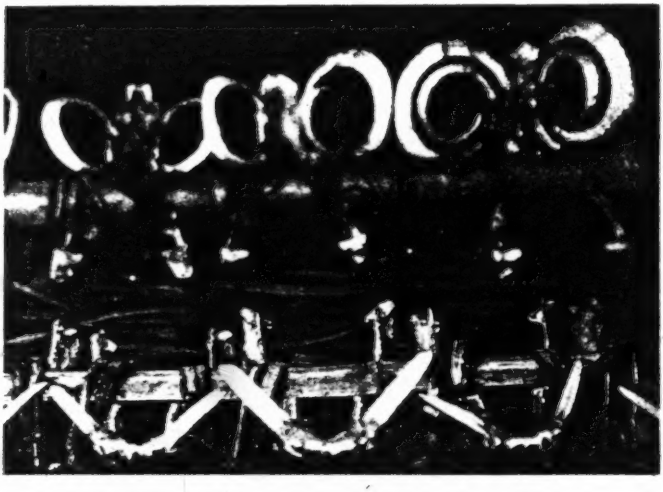

1. Tusked jaws displayed on Atchin. Note the double-circle-tusker on the top row
2. Youth named Mal-sibini feeding a re-entrant-tusker he was about to sacrifice during the course of his Initiation rite on Atchin

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nothing to bite against, continue their upward growth.[1] Following their natural curve, they then curl backwards, and then downwards, piercing the cheek and then the jaw. The jaw is no obstacle, for, growing now forwards again through the bone, they finally emerge once more, each having completed a whole circle, with the tip of the tusk just inside the spot at which it first appeared. When the tusk has pushed its way up for the second time so that its tip is visible outside the animal's lip, it is considered perfect from a ritual point of view. This is, however, by no means the highest possible stage of growth. Tusks so treated can, with luck and good management, be induced to describe two complete circles, and there are cases in which they have been known to describe three. During my stay on Vao there was one highly valued beast which had attained this triple distinction.[2]

Tusked boar the natives' sacrificial animal.

The motive behind the tremendous labour and endless care lavished to produce these results is a religious one, since the prime value of the pig with artificially elongated tusks lies in the fact that it is the sacrificial animal, through the slaying of which, with due ritual, a man attains life after death.[3]

The manner in which this is accomplished, and the endless ramifications, both ritual and commercial, resulting from this belief, will be dealt with in due place. It must suffice here to point out that the whole process involves the identification of the sacrificer with the victim, and that since, in this strongly patrilineal society, men only have souls and have the right to sacrifice, only male pigs are so treated.

Gelded pigs.

Male pigs are, however, of two kinds, gelded and not gelded. The practice of gelding pigs is probably due to a compromise between religious ideology and gastronomical considerations. For an essential aspect of sacrifice is that the victim should also be eaten. But the most valued tusked boars are always old; moreover, the pain attendant on the passage of their tusks through the jaw is not conducive to that state of contentment which would enable them to put on flesh. The result is that, apart from their tusks, they are, as a rule, nothing but skin and bones. Partly owing

[1] This operation will be fully described in a future volume on Atchin. A brief account by Père Godefroy is quoted on p. 259 of the present volume.

[2] See p. 247, footnote 1.

[3] Fowls also are sacrificed (see p. 390), but do not of themselves confer new life. Recent innovations also include the sacrifice of animals introduced by the white man, such as young bullocks obtained from planters—I saw, and will describe in a future volume, one such sacrifice on Atchin—though such innovations are not approved of by the old men. On Ambrim another introduced animal known to have been sacrificed is the dog.

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232 to this, and partly so as to provide companionship for the boars, certain male pigs are gelded. Gelded pigs also have their upper canines extracted, and so develop elongated tusks, but are never, so far as I know, kept alive beyond the stage at which the tusks approach the jaw but have not yet entered it. They are reared for two purposes, firstly as companions to the tusked boars, and partly so as to provide the fleshy part of sacrifice. Thus pigs are often sacrificed in pairs, one tusked boar and one gelded tusker. The boar only is the official victim; the gelded tusker is sacrificed at the same time in order to provide the meat.

Sows not sacrificed or eaten.

●231 262 Though women sometimes own pigs, sows are never sacrificed and therefore do not have their tusks artificially elongated; nor may they be eaten.[1] Men cannot eat sows because they are female, and women may not eat pig-flesh at all. For pig-flesh is only eaten as a result of sacrifice.

TERMINOLOGY; PIG GRADES; STAGES OF GROWTH

General Terms

231 192 The general word for "pig" is *bò*, or, when preceded by the indefinite article, *na-mbò*. The same word is used more specifically for "boar" as opposed to gelded pig or sow.

Gelded pigs are called *tamav*.

Sows are called *bò-rav*.

Pigs reared from a sow belonging to the owner and not acquired by trade are called *natin na-mborav*, and are particularly prized for sacrifice. Such pigs when grown to sacrificial size I will call "home-bred tuskers."

Intersex pigs, described in Vao as having vagina and testicles but no penis, are called *na-rav*. These are not intentionally reared on Vao, but sometimes occur in the course of ordinary breeding.

Four Main Grades depending on Curvature of Tusks

Tusked boars are, for ritual purposes, graded into four main categories, according to the length and curvature of their tusks. As these categories are the same, with dialectical variations, all over the Small Islands, and as it is necessary to be able to refer to them in English in such a manner as not to burden the reader with too many native terms, I propose here

[1] Compare Godefroy, 1, 1934, p. 48: "The sow is despised to such an extent that it may not even be eaten; if it is necessary, for some reason or other, to get rid of a sow, it is thrown into the sea, unless the young men take it for bait to attract sharks, which they then kill."

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PLATE X

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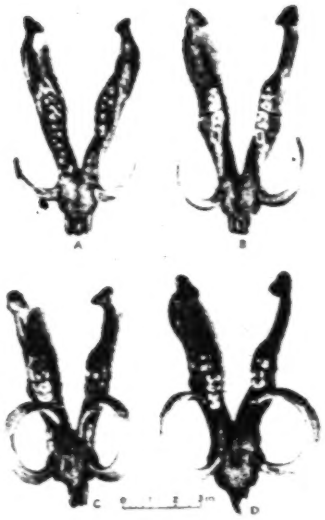

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1. Tusked jaws of sacrificial boars:—A. Crescent-tusker; B. Curved tusker; C. and D. Re-entrant-tuskers. (*Layard, 2, Plate XVIII, Fig. 1*)
2. Wooden pig-killer from Seniang. (*Layard, 2, Plate XIX, Fig. 2*)
3. Double-circle tusk removed from jaw. (*Speiser, 3, Plate 27, Fig. 2*)

4. Jaw of a re-entrant-tusker (*Speiser, 3, Plate 27, Fig. 1*). The protuberance on the jaw is probably the socket of a third tusk

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to give the Vao terms, together with the English equivalents which I first published in 1928,[1] and which I shall continue to use in this and subsequent volumes. To illustrate the importance of these four grades, I will give also the Atchin terms for the same grades, which are almost the same as those used in Vao, although the terms used for the less important intermediate grades differ considerably. The four grades are:

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(1) CRESCENT-TUSKER. Vao *pakeah*, Atchin *pekes*. The tusks are plainly visible outside the animal's lips. The word "crescent" is chosen owing to its technical connotation of "growing."

(2) CURVED-TUSKER. Vao *na-rugh*, Atchin *na-ru*. The portion of the tusk visible outside the animal's lip is now distinctly curved, the tip being directed backwards, but not yet having penetrated the cheek.

(3) RE-ENTRANT-TUSKER. Vao *bò-ware*,[2] Atchin *ni-wara*. The tusk has now pierced the cheek and re-entered the jaw.

(4) CIRCLE-TUSKER. Vao *merer-pakeah*, Atchin *merer-pekes*. The tusk has now passed through the jaw, curved up forwards inside the spot where it first appeared, and the tip is again visible outside the animal's lip. The word *merer* means "twice" or "double," and indicates that the tip of the tusk now occupies for a second time the position of crescent-tusker (*pakeah*, *pekes*).

NOTE ON THE TERMS USED FOR THE PIG IN GENERAL, AND FOR THE FOUR MAIN GRADES OF TUSKER

Bò (Atchin *buha*). This word, used for the pig in general, is allied to the Indonesian forms *babui*, *bawi* and *babi*,[3] variants of which are common throughout Melanesia.

Pakeah (Atchin *pekes*), here used for crescent-tusker, is an uncommon word, and appears in Melanesia, so far as is known, only in the New Hebrides, where it appears as a generic term for pig under the forms *bukahi* (in the Bieri district of South Epi), *pekasi* (in Erromanga), *pokasi* (in Tanna) and *pigadh* (in Aneityum).[2]

Na-rugh (Atchin *na-ru*), here used for curved-tusker, is by far the most

[1] Layard, 2, p. 190. It is to be hoped that other writers will adopt these terms, as the grades are important not only in present-day practice, but also in tracing the development of the cult of artificial tusks in this and neighbouring areas, and without agreed technical terms in English comparison would be difficult.

[2] The only pig name mentioned by Godefroy is *bouar*, which is evidently the same word, but which he on several occasions describes as indicating this stage of growth the second time round, i.e. after having already completed one circle.

[3] For information regarding these terms I am indebted to the Rev. A. Capell. Codrington, 1, gives a list of 40 languages in which forms of the Indonesian word for pig are used. Dr. Capell has a list of over 100.

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common term used in the Northern New Hebrides for various grades of tusker, though the grades which it is used to indicate vary greatly. The word is clearly allied to the Mota words *ruga*, "to bend at an angle without breaking," and *luk*, "to bend at an angle," together with *luga*, "to fold or bend," [1] though none of these terms are here used to specify any grade of pig. In Malo, however, the word is found in the form of *undruk*, described as a boar with "a curved tusk so large that it has grown right round to reach the jaw," [2] that is to say, that it is there used for what, in my terminology, is a re-entrant-tusker. In Lambumbu it appears in the form of *naarugh*, meaning "a pig whose tusk has passed through the jaw-bone and entered the mouth," [3] i.e. a stage longer than in Malo. In South-East Oba (Lologaro) the term is not used alone, but reappears under the form *ruk-waru*, applied to boars of which the tusks have re-entered the jaw the second time round.[4] The word *waru* means "twice," and the complete term thus means "twice curved." This is the longest curvature of tusk I know of to receive a grade name which is not simply a repetition of the term used for the tusk on its first way round. The importance of this term is emphasised by its use as a title in the graded society under the form of *ruk-waru* in the Maki of Atchin and Wala, of *ruh-varu* in Unua,[5] *lok-paro* in Port Sandwich and *luk-paro* or *lugubaru* in the Mangge of Sulol and Lonwolwol on Ambrim.[6]

Bò-ware (Atchin *ni-wara*). This term, here used for re-entrant-tusker, is less widespread, and I do not know of its use as a grade term outside the Small Islands. It is allied to the Mota *war*, meaning "to twist, screw, curl over," and also "to have curled tusks," illustrated by the phrase *o goe tue war*.[7]

Merer-pakeah (Atchin *merer-pekes*), here used for circle-tusker, is a composite term, meaning "*pakeah* again," signifying the return of the tusk, on its second round, to the position of *pakeah*, or crescent-tusker. This is, so far as has been recorded, a universal way of describing circle-tuskers, namely, by the device of using the name of a previous grade with the addition of some word signifying "again." We have already seen this in the term *ruk-waru*, meaning "*ruk* twice," together with its South-East Malekulan and Ambrim equivalents *luk-paro*, etc. The same means is employed in Lambumbu, where the phrase *ni-mbuah rendam vaaru* is used for "a pig in which the tusk is beginning to project for the second time," and *lip mavüs vaaru*, "a pig in which the tusk is clearly seen projecting for the second time." [8] In Seniang the same device is employed

[1] Codrington, 2. The Indonesian root for this word is *dekung* (Capell).
[2] Rivers, 3. [3] Deacon, 4, p. 196. [4] Layard, 9.
[5] One of the four "Fires" into which the *ni-mangki* grades of Lambumbu were divided was also called by this name (Deacon, 4, p. 346).
[6] For references see table of graded society ranks, Table XI. The use of this term as a title presumably implies that the sacrificer must sacrifice a boar of this grade.
[7] Codrington, 2. [8] Deacon, 4, p. 196.

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by means of the word *ndal*, meaning "again"; thus, *mbong mevûs* is roughly equivalent to crescent-tusker, and *mbong mevûs ndal* means "a pig whose tusk has attained to the *mbong mevûs* stage for the second time," that is to say, has become a circle-tusker, and for any stage above this the qualifying adverb *ndal* is added to the name for the corresponding stage the first time round.[1]

Philological evidence points to comparatively recent development of the art of rearing circle-tuskers.

The above brief philological survey is not without importance, since it shows that, of all the terms used to describe pigs, two only are widespread, namely *bò*, the generic word for pig all over Melanesia, with its close parallels in Indonesia, and the term *rugh*, together with its various equivalents, of which the root meaning is "curved." In connexion with this term *rugh* and its equivalents, the interesting fact further emerges that they are used in various districts for almost any grade of curved-tusker, from crescent-tusker to a stage almost equivalent to circle-tusker. There is, further, the noteworthy fact that there is nowhere an individual term for circle-tusker, this grade being everywhere expressed by repeating the term used for the first visible stage of the tusk on its first round, together with some word signifying "twice" or "again."

These facts appear to indicate: (*a*) that in the development of the New Hebridean practice of rearing pigs with artificially deformed tusks the important thing at first was the production of a curved tusk of any size, called by some form of the word *rugh*, and that this term became applied at one time in various districts to the greatest length of tusk then known; and (*b*) that the stage of circle-tusker, for which no individual term exists, is a comparatively late development due to improved technique. This supposition is borne out in the accounts given by the natives themselves of the grades of tusker sacrificed both formerly and now. In the history of the Maki on Atchin (to be published in a future volume) it will be shown that it is only in recent generations that circle-tuskers have been reared in sufficient numbers to become the prescribed form of sacrifice at certain rites, and that formerly, even on the most important occasions, the highest-grade sacrificial animals were re-entrant-tuskers.

Each of the four main grades has its own conch-shell trumpet signal.

However late the development of the art of producing circle-tuskers may be, the four main grades of tusker mentioned above are now firmly established in the Small Islands, and each has its own particular ritual significance. The great importance of this method of classification in the native mind is shown by the fact that each of the four main grades has its own special signal, blown for it on a conch-shell trumpet. These

[1] Deacon, 4, p. 195.

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231 202 signals are blown whenever a tusked boar changes hands, approaches the island in a canoe or is sacrificed, and it is in connexion with tusked boars that these trumpets are chiefly used.[1]

Intermediate Stages of Growth

231 192 In addition to the four main grades cited above there are a number of intermediate grades the terms for which have no special ritual significance, but simply describe the stages of growth. Though I am unable in all cases to give literal translations as fully as I shall be able to do in a future volume with respect to those in use on Atchin, it will be seen that they are chiefly of a purely descriptive nature. They are:

Bò rombo. Sucking pig.

Na-mbò. Pig that has been weaned. (This is the general word for pig.)

Ghamb-ghamb-lehi. The lower canine (i.e. the tusk) is about to appear (through the gum). *Lehi* means "to see."

Bò-rūhūlē. The tusk has erupted.

Bò mpal-pal-re. The tusk meets the upper canine. The word *pal* means "to strike," also "to sacrifice." It is at this point that the upper canine is knocked out. I do not know whether the name refers to the striking of the tusk against the upper canine, or to the fact that, once the latter is extracted, the animal is destined for sacrifice.

Bò hōlōt. The upper canine (*patin(e)*) has been extracted.

Bò her-hari. Young tusker with tusks occasionally visible outside the lips. *Har* means "to shine," and refers presumably to the gleam of the tusk's tip when it first appears.[2]

Pakeah. Crescent-Tusker. The tusks are now plainly visible at all times outside the animal's lips.

Na-rugh. Curved-Tusker. The tusk curves backwards outside the cheek.

Tev-tev. The tip of the tusk, curving backwards and downwards, grazes the skin of the cheek, so that it bleeds. *Tev* is a widespread word meaning "to cut."

Tuh-nò-tev-siri. The tusk has pierced the cheek, but has not yet entered the jaw. It is still possible to put one's finger between the jaw and the tip of the tusk. *Tev* again means "to cut"; *siri* possibly means "entirely," indicating that the cheek is completely pierced.

Bò-ware. Re-Entrant-Tusker. The tip of the tusk, moving downwards and now forwards again, has now re-entered the jaw.

Bò e ves-vas. The tip of the tusk is now well inside the jaw.

[1] Compare also the term *ni-tavu* (=conch-shell trumpet) used for the first grade of tusker after removal of the upper canines in Seniang (Deacon, 4, p. 194). Trumpets are blown during the operation.

[2] Compare the corresponding grade in Seniang, called *mbong mevüs*, meaning "mouth white" (Deacon, 4, p. 194).

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Na-timb. The tip of the tusk is about to erupt from the jaw for the second time. 231

Bò-rùhùlt. The tusk has erupted for the second time. This term duplicates that used for the first eruption. Its sense would always be apparent from the context in which it is used. 192

Bò mpal-pal-re. The tip of tusk is now well out of the jaw, but is not yet visible outside the lip. This term duplicates that used for a similar position the first time round.

Merer-hùlùt. The tip of the tusk is yet further out, but not yet fully visible. This term duplicates *bò hùlùt*, with the addition of *merer*, "double."

Merer-pakeah. CIRCLE-TUSKER. The tip of the tusk is now visible at all times outside the lip immediately behind the spot where it originally erupted, having described a complete circle.

Tal ve ghe rugh. This is a yet higher grade, an exact description of which I did not record. *Tal* is the word used for the rope by which pigs are tethered; *rugh* may duplicate *na-rugh*, in which case the term would appear to refer to a stage in which that of curved-tusker has been reached the second time round.

Yet further stages of growth are called by names which in the same way repeat those used for the tusk while describing its first circle. Super-high-grade boars of this kind will be referred to in the following pages as:

(*a*) CIRCLE-PLUS-CRESCENT-TUSKER.
(*b*) CIRCLE-PLUS-CURVED-TUSKER.
(*c*) CIRCLE-PLUS-RE-ENTRANT-TUSKER.
(*d*) DOUBLE-CIRCLE-TUSKER.
(*e*) DOUBLE-CIRCLE-PLUS-CRESCENT-TUSKER.
(*f*) TRIPLE-CIRCLE-TUSKER,[1]
and so on.

Freaks are sometimes accidentally produced, having four tusks, or three, two on one side and one on the other. The former are called *lĭv-vdt-vdt* (*lĭv* meaning "tusk" and *vdt* "four") and the latter *lĭv-tĭl-tĭl* (*tĭl* meaning "three").

Life-span of tusked boars.

I know of no exact data bearing on the life-span of tusked boars, and existing records are remarkably diverse. Thus Harrisson, referring presumably to Matanavat, says that in the growth of the tusks "each circuit takes about seven years,"[2] while Mr. Bowie is quoted by Speiser as having found the time taken in Ambrim for the tusk to re-enter the jaw (i.e. in my terminology, to attain the grade of re-entrant-tusker) to be sixteen years.[3] 231

[1] One such three-circle-tusker existed on Atchin at the time of my visit, in the village of Emil Lep. Another is mentioned in an account of human sacrifice at Matanavat (see p. 621, note).

[2] Harrisson, 2, p. 25.

[3] Speiser, 3, p. 160.

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SECULAR USE OF PIGS

231 It will be seen, from the large number of terms, that the rearing of tusked pigs plays a large part in native life. The extent to which this occupation does in fact engross the natives' time and thought, and the intense emotion accompanying it, are matters which it is difficult to convey to one who has not actually witnessed them.

Let us take first the outward manifestations in everyday life of the importance attached to these animals. In the first place, though there is a considerable amount of spare ground on the island on which cultivation could take place, this is not used, since sows with their young and as yet untusked progeny wander at will wherever they wish, scouring the ground for roots and other food.[1] For this reason, also, every man is obliged to surround his house-enclosure with a high wall, to keep them out.

If we enter the enclosure, a very different sight meets our eyes. Here a man keeps his own pigs, tied by one of their forelegs, in sties almost as well built as his own house, to protect them from the weather and from the heat of the sun, the direct rays of which they cannot endure, or, even, in the case of an old man with a high-grade tusker, in the rear portion of his dwelling. Here his own sows and small pigs are fed and tended by his wife, and the tusked boars with the leavings of his own meals, or with the very finest puddings specially cooked, often with magical ingredients to promote the growth of tusks over which spells have been uttered. Details of such tending will be given in a future volume on Atchin.

Tusked boars the chief native article of currency.

436 The next point to force its attention on even the most casual student of Small Island culture is the fact that pigs are money. Strings of shell-beads, such as are used further north, are here used only as ornaments, and feather money, such as is used in Santa Cruz, and to a lesser extent in the Banks Islands and in Malo,[2] is here unknown. In the Small

[1] A benefit incidental to their scavenging tendencies is humorously described by Godefroy, who says (1, 1934, p. 49):

"One must not complain too bitterly about these marauders, for they render a great service in the matter of public hygiene, since it is they who clear up all droppings, particularly those of man. Sometimes, in fact, the latter has the greatest difficulty in defending himself against these too zealous scavengers: before taking up his squatting position he will do well to arm himself with sundry missiles with which to keep off his more importunate visitors, unless he is willing to run the risk of being upturned by a too eager snout. The natives have found one solution to this very real difficulty when satisfying the demands of nature by squatting on low branches of trees. In this way, both parties are satisfied. . . ."

The difficulty for the native is not only one of hygiene, which in his eyes is of secondary importance, but of defence against sorcery. Since for a sorcerer what comes out of a man is the most valuable material on which to work his spells, the scavenger is here doubly useful.

[2] Speiser, 3, p. 273.

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there were formerly more. In all the Small Islands, however, a man who has attained very high rank is addressed by a title of respect philologically equivalent to the word Supwe. The term in Atchin is *na-sup*, and in Vao *na-humbe*. In South-East Oba the same word under the form *sungwe* is used in precisely the same way.[1]

Now, I have already shown how *na-sup* and *na-humbe* (and the same is true of the Oba *sungwe*) are philologically equivalent to Le-hev-hev shorn of its prefix Le-, and that this fact alone shows the identification of men of high rank with the Guardian Ghost. The means by which this identification is attained is a matter which, in Atchin where my own main enquiries were conducted, and where the whole Maki rite has become much more complicated and removed from its simplicity through the addition of new and highly spectacular features from further south, I failed satisfactorily to elucidate. For the explanation given in the simpler culture of Vao I am indebted to Godefroy, who found that the title of *na-humbe*, and the titles of the two lower ranks which lead up to it, are bestowed in the first place, not on the sacrificer, but on the tusked boar itself, and that it is only through sacrifice that a man assumes the rank of the victim he sacrifices. The tusked boar is itself previously sanctified by sacrifice of yet other pigs. The boar thus acquires a soul,[2] and it is through the passage of the boar's soul into the sacrificer that the latter is himself sanctified and takes on his victim's rank.[3]

Consecration of Tusked Boars

Conferring on them the ranks subsequently to be assumed by the sacrificer

Godefroy gives a brief account of the stages in the consecration of a tusked boar, beginning with a short account of the extraction of the incisors, which he describes as the boar's "initiation." He says:[4]

"This is how they accomplish the initiation of a future *na-humbe*.

[1] Layard, 9.

[2] In the Seniang district of South-West Bay sacred trees and plants, connected with the public graded society, chief among which is the cycas, also have souls (Deacon, 4, p. 548). These also are presumably sanctified by the sacrifice of the tusked boars that are attached to them. An extension of the same motive is probably also to be seen in South Raga in the application of the word *temat* to all objects, such as the cycas and dracaena, which are connected with a man's rise in rank. Though the South Raga word for "ghost" is *armat*, there can be little doubt that the two are connected. The term is also used for the influence that a man of high rank has over those in his immediate neighbourhood, a kind of "coercive power" directed against all those things which, in the natives' eyes, appear dangerous (Tattevin, 1, 1927, pp. 568-9). In this sense the word has the same meaning as the Small Islands word *tamat*, meaning "peace," of which mention is made below.

[3] For the equation "Principle [sacrificer]=offering=god," compare A. M. Hocart, p. 67.

[4] Godefroy, 1, 1934, pp. 115-19.

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They take hold of a young pig that has already got its permanent teeth. . . . Its owner sits on a tree trunk or other convenient seat, and holds its head fast between his hands; horizontally across its open mouth is placed a piece of wood to prevent it from biting; then the operator kneels in front of the patient. Armed with a kind of chisel cut from the branch of an orange tree, and with a hammer, or simply a stone, he taps repeatedly one side of the tooth [1] and then the other. In this way, it takes a whole morning to extract the first canine; at midday they rest, so does the animal; it takes the rest of the day to finish the operation. Before letting the animal go, they rub ashes into the still bleeding gums.[2]

"After a year, that is to say when the canines of the lower jaw have grown sufficiently to push up the cheeks,[3] they lead the animal on to the dancing-ground one day when some rite is in progress; [4] it then undergoes its first consecration, other pigs being sacrificed for it; then it is declared *ni-mal*.[5] Three years later, when the tusks have made a complete circle, it is consecrated for a second time; it then becomes *meltek*.[6] When the tusk has completed its second circle, the pig will be consecrated *na-humbe*[7] and, some time later, *na-humbe se*.[7]

"These three honours, these three ranks, will be transferred to its owner on the ritual occasion when the latter sacrifices it.

"Meanwhile, it is itself, from the moment of its first consecration, elevated to the dignity of man.[8] This consecration into the rank of *ni-mal* confers on it the initial stages of the soul of a chief[9]—which perfects itself when it attains the rank of *meltek* and attains the apotheosis of honour when it becomes *na-humbe se*.

"Here are the proofs. From the day when it becomes *ni-mal*, by taking this rank in the dancing-ground, the pig becomes, for its owner, the object of a semi-religious respect; at all events he treats it as his equal. He feeds it with the remains of his own meals and builds for it a small hut, not very imposing, it is true, but at least a shelter where he keeps it tied up night and day, for it may no more run about.

"When they are moved, these 'lord pigs' are treated with the greatest respect, never hit or insulted in any way. When they are at rest, their movements are followed, their looks observed . . . a meaning is found for their grunts and for their sighs. With what loving attention their well-being and comfort is cared for!"

[1] I.e. the upper canine (*batin(e)*); cf. Mota *batiu*, also applied to the eye-teeth in men.

[2] A full account of this operation as performed on Atchin will be given in a future volume. Ashes are frequently used as a disinfectant (see p. 511).

[3] I.e. the pig has become a crescent-tusker.

[4] He does not say what rite.

[5] This is a Maki title (see pp. 431, 433).

[6] This is another Maki title.

[7] These are not properly speaking titles, but terms of respect (see pp. 220, 432, 693).

[8] As we have seen above, it is actually the dignity of "ghost."

[9] As elsewhere, Godefroy uses the term "chief" to denote "man of high rank."

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Respect Shown to Tusked Boars Illustrated by Scenes from Ambrim

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In illustration of this, Godefroy recounts several episodes observed during his service as missionary at Olal, on Ambrim. Though these did not occur on Vao, they are worth recording as being typical of the natives' attitude towards high-grade tusked boars throughout the Northern New Hebrides. On one occasion, when preaching at the village of Fanlah, he sat on the ground with his back to a small hut in which there was a low door. He noticed that the natives' attention was riveted on what was in progress inside the hut.

"Leaning towards the small half-open door, I became aware of a man sitting on the earthen floor, lifting with great care the tail of an enormous *na-humbe*[1] comfortably lying in a depression in the ground. Piously and religiously with the other hand he was collecting in a large leaf, and rolling it up in it, the product of the heavings and sighs of the *na-humbe*. When he had in this way presented and subsequently rolled up three such leaves, he carefully placed them alongside a pile of leaves not yet used. I had not lost a detail of all this scene, but what astonished me most was that my audience had been equally absorbed in face of the pressing needs of the sacred pig. . . .

"Another time, also on Ambrim . . . close to the entrance to the small dancing-ground of Meluar, I was overtaken by a sudden rainstorm and only just had time to take refuge in the nearest hut. An unexpected sight awaited me. The hut was small, and was almost entirely occupied by an enormous boar whose tusks described a double circle: it was a *le-ban-ban*![2] a sacred boar. Lazily lying on the ground, it completely filled a large basin-shaped depression in the ground. Two men, of between thirty and forty years of age, were watching it. They seemed to understand perfectly the animal's grunts and sighs. One of them suddenly went outside and split open a coconut which he took from a pile of other green coconuts stored close by in the shade. The liquid from this he poured into a gourd, and, as an inferior to a superior, and with the same deference, with the help of his companion presented the cool beverage to the 'lord' *le-ban-ban*. All this took place in a religious silence, no word being spoken.

"Meanwhile, the rain had turned into a downpour, and, the shallow channel dug by the side of the hut not being deep enough to carry off all

[1] The use of the word *na-humbe* in this context is inaccurate, since it is not, so far as I know, used in Ambrim.

[2] Presumably the Meluar equivalent of the Vao *na-humbe*. Various forms of the word *ban* are used for Maki ranks in a number of districts. According to Tattevin (1, 1927, p. 85) Li-banban (from *ban*, meaning pig's tusk bracelet) is the ordinary word for tusked pig in the Pornowol district of South Raga.

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the water, the interior of the hut began to be flooded over. A grunt and a slight movement of the boar's spine conveyed to the watchful guardians the information that the deluge had already reached the august animal. Then, for the first time, I realised that there was another compartment in the hut occupied by women, also charged with the duty of tending to the needs of the presiding deity of the house. They also understood their lord's complaint, and immediately began to turn the invading stream by digging a fresh channel, diverting the water into their own compartment; not only this, but they further made sure of the water-tightness of the bottom of the transverse partition by placing along it the earth they had obtained from digging the channel. They now sat in the mud, but the 'lord' *le-ban-ban* continued to rest in his dry trench.

"All this work had been accomplished in perfect silence, which continued after the storm was over. As I left, two young men came to relieve the others, and I heard the latter instructing them, 'He has just had a drink; you had better soon give him some dry coconuts to eat.'

"During the 1913 eruption on Ambrim, a man named *Nu-nur-mal*, chief of Likon, had been unable to tend his *le-ban-ban* for three days. On the fourth day he sent his daughter, saying, 'Wash him with water from the ravine, the spot which belongs to me; then make his bed. Then gather bread-fruit from the tree from which I myself eat, and roast one for him. While it is roasting, knock down a green coconut. Then you will find in my house a dry coconut. Split this, scrape out the kernel and give it immediately to my *le-ban-ban* to eat. After this, without hurrying, when the bread-fruit is properly cooked, peel it and cut it up, then place the pieces within easy reach of *le-ban-ban*. When he has eaten his fill, give him the green coconut to slake his thirst. Then clean out his hut, and when he has lain down in it again, don't forget to comb out the little tuft at the end of his tail which he waves so becomingly.' "

One boar on Atchin was of such high rank that no one could sacrifice it.

The above scenes, though witnessed on Ambrim, are typical of the attitude towards pigs throughout Malekula also. I have myself seen similar scenes on Atchin, where large fees, payable in money-mats, are demanded even for the honour of seeing a high-grade tusked boar. On that island, during the time I was there, there was one boar that was even too sacred to be sacrificed at all, the man for whose sake it had been raised to supernumerary rank having died before he could sacrifice it, and no one else on the island being of high enough rank to risk taking his place. There was therefore every likelihood that it would die, and that the years of rearing it would have been in vain, since its soul would then pass away without having conferred its rank upon any member of the community. This illustrates the negative aspect of identification, since, if a man were

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to sacrifice a boar advanced to a grade too far beyond his own in the Maki hierarchy, the passage of the boar's soul into his would overwhelm him, and disaster would be sure to follow.[1]

Mass Sacrifice

Information regarding the details of sacrifice will be included in the chapters on the numerous sacrificial rites, and in particular that of the Maki. When it is realised that, on a single occasion at the culmination of the Maki rite, in addition to the circle-tuskers and tuskers of yet higher rank sacrificed by individual men, there is a mass sacrifice by the men of at least 100 tusked boars on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground as well as of 100 gelded tuskers on the Lower Side, the reader will be able in some measure to gauge the immense importance of these animals in native culture.

Stone Image of a Pig

Since I took no special photographs of live pigs on Vao, I here reproduce one of the stone image of a pig which I was shown resting on a dolmen erected in front of a Lodge in the now deserted mainland village of Tolamp, the final resting-place of the inhabitants of the submerged island from which this village took its name, before the last remnants of them took up their abode on Vao.[2] The Lodge has long since rotted away, and the dolmen now stands alone, half-covered with bush. The image is 19 inches long, and is called *wuli*, said to be equivalent to the pidgin-English "larrikin," or ruffian, a term recalling the character of the Guardian Ghost. In the short time at my disposal, I was unable to discover what purpose it served. The tusks are clearly indicated, and there are two shallow depressions on the back. I asked whether they might be for kava, which, though not drunk by the people of Vao, is so used by the Big Nambas of the North Malekulan plateau, but my informant was unable to say whether this was the case or not. There is a record of two "pigs carved of stone" kept in a taboo place belonging to one of the Lodges in Matanavat, on the north coast of Malekula, said to be used for magical purposes.[3] The only other example of a stone pig from the New Hebrides known to me, now in the Basel Museum für Völkerkunde, is said to come from Oba, and to have served as a kava bowl. Its back is hollowed out as though to receive

[1] Compare Deacon (4, p. 548), who says that in Seniang, the soul of a pig of well-developed tusk-curvature, such as a re-entrant-tusker (*imaap*) or higher grade, "is powerful, more powerful even than the spirit of some human beings. Thus if a small boy were to partake of the flesh of a pig of high grade, the *nimwinin* [soul] of the animal would be stronger than the *nimwinin* [soul] of the child and would devour it, so that the boy would die." (The souls of pigs and human beings are called by different names.)

[2] See p. 58.

[3] Harrisson, 2, p. 59. Their magical use is not described.

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liquid, save in two places which are indented in the same way as the Tolamp image. Codrington also mentions a vision experienced by a native after the death of the last heathen chief of Walurigi, in North-East Oba. This man's son had become a Christian, so could not succeed to the chieftainship. When the chief died, "a certain man attempted to take his place; he went into the late chief's sacred haunt . . . in which he used to have his intercourse with the . . . spirits, and he declared that he heard someone whistle to him there. He told the people also that afterwards in the night he felt something come upon his breast, which he took in his hands, and found to be a stone in shape like the distinguishing part of a valued kind of pig," [1] in other words, as appears from a footnote, the sexual organs of an intersex pig.

The Pig as Symbol of Fertility

This raises the subject of pigs as fertility symbols. I shall have more to say about this in future volumes. A tale told on Vao, where intersex pigs are not bred, will suffice to illustrate this aspect of native thought with regard to ordinary sows.

Story of a Tolamp man who begot a child on the wife of a friend from Pweter-ges, at the latter's request, because he was impotent.

There was a man of Tolamp,[2] called Ter-ter, and another of Pweter-ges, near Lawor, whose name was Burial. And the two were friends. And Burial came to Ter-ter, and said, "You have plenty of pigs, and I have no children." Ter-ter said, "That is so." And Burial again said, "I have plenty of wives, but cannot get any children. I will buy yet another wife, a young one. Will you come and lie with her, and make a child for me?" So they appointed a day, and Burial said, "You come to Ghoramp (the beach on the mainland near Wala), and I will come too and bring my wife with me, and then you will be able to manage things."

So Ter-ter went to Ghoramp, and Burial brought his wife half-way, telling her to go on down to Ghoramp, where she would find a man, to whom she was to deliver herself. She went down, but could not see him, for he had concealed himself above the cave called *barang na ta-mat* (through which the dead must pass on their journey to the Land of the Dead).[3] She waited and waited, and at last turned to go away. But then he

[1] Codrington, 3, p. 57.

[2] The story refers to a period subsequent to the submergence of Tolamp, when its inhabitants had founded the last of the villages bearing this name on the mainland opposite Vao.

[3] See pp. 217, 227. He chose this spot, which lies half-way between the two villages, presumably so that the woman should think he was a ghost, in order to avoid complications with the husband.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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231 539 threw a stone towards her (the usual way of a lover to make his presence known), and she turned back and saw him, and they went into the bush and lay together.

After this the woman bore a son. And Burial said, "Now I've got a son, I will buy a pig for him." So he bought a sow, which conceived, but instead of delivering at Pweter-ges, she ran away and littered at Tolamp (this must have been at the time when Tolamp was already on the mainland), where she gave birth to five male pigs. And Burial looked everywhere for the sow, but could not find her, till at last he lit upon her tracks (for it was the time of the rains), and followed them to Tolamp, where he found his sow and her five pigs and took them home. Next day he gave ten yams to his women [1] and told them to go to Tolamp and give them to Ter-ter as a return for "getting his wife with child and making his sow give birth to the five pigs." And having taken them they returned home.[2]

CONCH-SHELL TRUMPETS

(a) *Connected with the sacrifice of tusked boars.*

534 Before leaving the subject of pigs, one object especially connected with them deserves more than passing mention. This is the conch-shell trumpet, made by boring a hole in a large Triton shell.[3] When blown through this hole, the trumpet emits a loud, deep sound which carries a considerable distance. Of the two methods of boring it, at the end or at one side, it is the latter that is in use in the whole of the New Hebrides and in the Banks and Torres Islands, except in the island of Fate, where it is bored at the end. It is therefore only with trumpets with the hole bored at the side, which is also the commonest form in Polynesia, that we are concerned here. The trumpet is held in the left hand, with the hole pressed against the mouth, and variations in tone are produced by inserting the fingers of the right hand into the opening at the end of the shell. As the fingers are inserted further into the hole the tone rises, so that by this means a variety of tones is obtained. The variations in tone, combined with the number of times they are repeated, form the [202] basis on which a number of established signals have been evolved, chief among which, in the Small Islands, are the four signals blown to herald the exchange or sacrifice of the four main categories of tusked boars.[4]

There is thus an intimate connexion between conch-shell trumpets

[1] Presumably his other wives.

[2] The sow littering at Tolamp is symbolical of the fact that the wife was fertilised by a Tolamp man. This part of the tale seems to imply that if Burial was not himself fertile, his boars could not be either.

[3] Inferior trumpets are made also of Kassis shell. These are particularly noticeable in Oba (Speiser, 3, p. 422).

[4] See p. 243.

2: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1936
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Small Islands

Dr. W. H. R. Rivers and myself to Malekula.[1] These monuments, which include dolmens, monoliths, stone-platforms, cairns, and circles, primarily and to this day still associated with mortuary ritual, reach their highest development in connection with the great sacrificial rite called *Maki*, the name given in these islands to a socio-religious hierarchy corresponding to the Mangke of the Big Nambas, based on identification with the ancestors and with a mythical hawk. This rite is at once the great unifying factor in these islands and at the same time the most frequent cause of the intensest rivalry. In most parts of Malekula the rite is an individual one, performed by one man at a time, and consists of a number of grades which last a life-time in the taking. In Atchin and the neighbouring islands however, owing to their possession of an anomalous kinship system closely allied to the six-class system of relationship discovered by Deacon on Ambrym, it is a communal one, all men of alternate generations within any given village sacrificing at once. The sacrificial animal is the tusked boar, from which the upper canines have been removed in order to allow unimpeded growth to the tusks, which curve round, re-enter the jaw, and, if the boar is allowed to live, finally emerge again and, in rare instances, make three complete circles. The rearing of these boars is an extremely skilled process in which the inhabitants of these islands excel all others, and is accompanied by many magical performances. These boars are graded according to the size of their tusks at any given moment, and also, while alive, serve as currency for the purchase of wives, for ceremonial exchange between affinal relatives, and for innumerable other purposes. It is thus no small indication of the importance of the *Maki* in native life that it is not unusual at the culminating point of one of these protracted rites for as many as five hundred of these valuable tusked boars, each worth from ten to forty pounds in English money, to be sacrificed at once.

There are two kinds, or to borrow an ecclesiastical term, uses, of *Maki* in these islands. In the older form, still practised in the village of Petehul on Vao, there are two monuments only, a large dolmen and a stone-platform, at each of which the sacrifice is made.

In the newer use as practised on Atchin ten shrines are erected along one side of the dancing-ground, each consisting of a dolmen, a monolith, and a carved wooden image representing the ancestral spirit, surmounted by a roof of which the ridge-pole, resting on the head of the image, represents the head and wings of the mythical hawk. By the side of each shrine nine further dolmens or monoliths (depending on which group of alternate generations is performing the rite) are erected, which, joined together, form a continuous line of a hundred stones. Behind all these stand two stone platforms, also furnished with images and roofed, one for each of the two social groups called "Side of the Stone," and on the other side of the dancing-ground is another continuous line of a hundred small stones. These stones all represent ancestors, and it is to them and to the images that the sacrificial boars are tied. The complete *Maki* which, as has been said, is alternately performed by men of alternate generations, is a protracted composite rite lasting, in its extended form, for anything between fifteen and thirty years, during which an almost

[1] Dr. Rivers stayed only eight days, after which he took a passing motor launch to Tangoa.